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ABSTRACT

The three papers in this collection describe the process of socialization that results in the attainment of the school superintendency. These articles deal with the vice-principalship as a stepping stone to higher office and with the lack of success that minority group members and women experience in educational administration advancement. The editor concludes that the attainment of the superintendency position is dependent on a specific career pattern, that the upward mobility process is complex and highly selective, that advancement is dependent on preliminary positions held as well as on the length of time each position is held, that failure to observe the process results in the exclusion of certain groups such as minorities and women, and that career patterns may be systematically established by the excluded groups that are different from others. (Author)

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SOCIALIZATION AND TRAINING INTO THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE

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Socialization and Training into the School Administrative Role

This study reports the process which results in the attainment of a school administrative role. Focus is given to the socialization process and its mechanisms for the selection of future administrators.

Generally, research dealing with career patterns has concentrated on the superintendency position. For example, Carlson's (1961; 1962; 1972) notions of the place-bound and career-bound superintendent; Halpin's (1956) extensive investigations dealing with leader behavior; Gross, et al. (1958) examination of role expectations between boards of education and superintendents and Seeman's (1960) analysis of superintendents' careers all provide "on the job" perspectives. Few of the studies that have dealt with the school administrator have focused on the career stages that precede the attainment of the superintendency position. There is however, a limited amount of knowledge in this area collected in a 1960 publication entitled Profile of the School Superintendent. Two major career patterns of superintendents were reported: in districts of 100,000 or more population the career pattern consisted of teacher/principal/central office administrator/superintendent and in smaller communities the career pattern tended to be teacher/principal/superintendent.

A recent study by Ortiz and Criswell (1975) dealing with career patterns in school administration reports findings which indicate that career patterns exist which ultimately result in the achievement of the highest position, i.e., the superintendency. Unlike previous studies which traditionally focused on the superintendency this study concentrates on the positions preceding the superintendency. It is reported that sex was found to discriminate most highly between superintendents and non-superintendents. Also, the vice-principalship

position appeared as an important office to hold in the ascendency process. Some positions normally associated with administration showed that they do not tend to lead to the superintendency.

The three articles presented here deal with some of the issues addressed in the Ortiz and Criswell (1975) study. The first report deals with the vice-principalship position which serves as a first step in the selection and gromming process of administrator. The second article looks at the effects of this grooming process on minority members. The third report focuses on the socialization process and the inclusion and exclusion of women from school administration positions.

Because the vice-principalship is reportedly important as a screening device for the selection of future administrators and as the first administrative position one would encounter in the hierarchy attention is directed towards the formal and informal socialization mechanisms which are present.

The Work and Socialization of the Secondary Vice-Principal

by Donald B. Reed

The work of the vice-principal comes under many different titles: assistant principal, vice-principal, dean of students, and the like. But regardless of the title most large public secondary schools have an administrator on the site who can be identified as doing the work of the vice-principal.

The work of the vice-principal can be understood if a perspective of the school is taken which asserts that there are two fundamental tasks of administrators. These are: 1) Establishing the integrity of the enterprise; and 2) Maintaining the integrity of the enterprise. The integrity of the school results from the establishment of a closely interwoven set of traditions and

rules or orders. Furthermore, maintaining the integrity of the enterprise requires that deviations from traditions as well as variations from the rules must be dealt with.

Traditions and rules permeate the school enterprise touching all those who populate it as well as the objects associated with it. Different administrators focus their attention on various aspects of the enterprise. The locus of the secondary vice-principal's work is the activities and customs of students particularly when they are not in classrooms. The vice-principal's work also is focused primarily within the school organization and to a certain extent at the boundary. Thus the vice-principal's work can be understood as primarily involved with the establishment and maintenance of traditions and rules within the school as they effect students.

The traditions of the secondary school to a large extent are embodied in and revolve around boys interscholastic athletics. If the vice-principal is not directly in charge of these, then he is likely to promote, as well as be in charge of the numerous "student activities" which are closely linked with interscholastic athletics. Some important aspects contained in school traditions are the appropriate roles students should play as youth and the roles staff members should play as adults. The promotion and overseeing of student activities by the vice-principal contributes to the <u>given</u> or established quality of school traditions.

The vice-principal almost single-handedly takes charge of controlling student variation from the established <u>order</u> as clarified in the school rules. The notions of student supervision and discipline cover a good part of this territory. The vice-principal moves about the school campus supervising students in order to intercept minor variations and reorder them. Under

certain circumstances variations are treated with disciplinary measures. In these cases the vice-principal attempts to realign students with the school rules.

Control of variations takes other forms also. In emergencies involving the school plant and student health, the vice-principal is called in to bring the situation back to normalcy. The description of the vice-principal as a "jack-of-all-trades" or as a "handyman" seems to arise from his work in bringing order to a myriad of small situational variations.

The establishment of organizational order is another important part of the vice principal's work. In this area he is likely to work as a member of an administrative team, including the school principal, rather than independently. The construction of the master schedule, the procedures for the opening days of school each year, and the schedules for special events are all a part of bringing order to the school. School rules which affect students appear to have their origin from an administrative team which includes the vice-principal.

Student deviance from the given established school traditions seem to be an area of grave concern for school administrators. As in the case of establishing order, the vice-principal will likely work as a member of an administrative team when controlling student deviance. For example, when a student deviates from the traditional student role by striking a teacher, the vice-principal will likely mobilize the administrative team to decide what should be done.

It has been suggested that the primary work of the vice-principal involves students within the school. The vice-principal works with relative independence in promoting school traditions and supervising and disciplining students. As an administrative team member, the vice principal establishes school order and deals with deviant students.

Most vice-principals report that they were selected because of the success they experienced as teachers and/or because of the performance in other formal assignments, for example, as a department head or a counselor. Selection in both cases implies visibility which seems to be a first move toward the vice-principalship.

Visibility itself is likely not enough. We can speculate that the visible qualities of certain teachers and other staff members must, to a large degree, be congruent with the work requirements of the vice-principalship. Since the vice-principal works more or less independently promoting the traditional aspects of the school while at the same time involving himself with student supervision and discipline, possible candidates will likely to selected on the basis of their conformity to these work requirements. Furthermore, a candidate's performance as an administrative team member must be given careful consideration by his superiors.

In spite of the careful selection process, the socialization of a new vice-principal can be still quite stressful particularly for a classroom teacher moving into the position. A new vice-principal finds little of the comfortable structure and predictability of the classroom. Old friendships become strained and broken. In their place new alliances with members of the administrative team are made. The autonomy experienced as a classroom teacher is constrained. The new vice-principal recognizes that the principal has the option of making many decisions and the vice-principal must support these decisions even though he may privately disagree with them. Furthermore, the novice vice-principal recognizes that he must respond quickly to many situations with minimal information and little time for reflection. Perhaps the most difficult situation experienced by new vice-principals is the recognition that they have few

immediate indicators of their effectiveness. They have little way of knowing if their actions are appropriate or inappropriate. Learning to live with this ambiguity seems to be an important feature of being socialized into the vice-principalship. Another feature of the socialization of a vice-principal is their change in perspective of the school enterprise. From their new positions, recently appointed vice principals gain a more global view of the school while, at the same time, lose many details.

From the preceding short analysis of the work and socialization of the vice-principal, it becomes clear why the position is an important first step toward the superintendency. The position of the vice-principal is in most respects a public affair which allows both his superiors and subordinates to carefully scrutinize every aspect of his work. His ability to carry the school traditions while at the same time disciplining students allows him to publicly perform two distinct, if not contradictory, roles. The decisions the vice-principal makes in crisis or turbulent situations are immediately known to all within the school. The vice-principal's judgment as to when and where to mobilize the administrative team is easily evaluated by his superiors. In his numerous daily interaction the strength of his alliance with other members of the administrative team becomes self-evident.

The private aspects of the vice-principal's work are also transparent to his superiors. It is clear that a vice-principal's behavior as a member of an administrative team meeting behind closed doors can be assessed and his overall perspective of the school enterprise will be disclosed.

Thus because of the work of the vice-principal is so clearly visible, varied in qualities, and in large measure, difficult, the position of the secondary vice-principalship serves as an important proving ground for the

first step toward the superintendency.

The vice-principalship has been described in the preceding analysis as an important socialization step towards advancement in school administration. The position has been shown to be significant for further mobility because of the visibility it provides within the school, the access to work as a team member with other administrators and subordinates, and the opportunity it offers superiors to assess the judgment the vice-principal exercises as he engages in selected administrative tasks.

Socialization may likewise be examined in its effects upon members of minority groups.

Socialization into Administrative Roles and its Effects on Minority Groups

by Flora Ida Ortiz

Studying career patterns permit us to understand the process by which certain positions are attained and retained. An investigation of school careers has revealed that certain experiences, training and facilitating factors lead to specific positions within the school hierarchy.

There are certain careers possible within the administrative ranks of school men. However, the career pattern leading to the superintendency appears to indicate a consistency in the requisite positions. In the few studies conducted, the principalship position has been found to provide valuable experience and to serve as a stepping stone for the superintendency position. A recent study conducted by us revealed that the vice-principalship position is of increasing importance. Other positions normally associated with administration do not seem to be critical to the ascendancy to the superintendency.

The factors mentioned above are important to consider when one is engaged in efforts to equalize opportunities for members of minority groups to become administrators. If the career pattern leading to the superintendency includes certain positions, it behooves members of a minority group to be cognizant of those positions. Most importantly it is necessary to consider those factors which may be acting upon school men which have led to the development of specific career patterns and their importance to the functioning aspects of each of the positions held.

It appears then, that certain powerful mechanisms are operating which act upon school personnel through time so that certain career patterns are institutionalized. Concurrently, the participants as they move through each stage of the career are socialized to more closely approximate the requisite role which must be assumed.

For members of minority groups, this has powerful implications. Individuals assume a particular role, master the role, and proceed to anticipate mastering a future role. This requires that candidates be alerted to the dynamics which operate. Normally, candidates do not receive this type of knowledge within their academic training and members of minority groups, who until just recently have participated marginally within the school's social system have not been adequately prepared through experience to the operating dynamics.

Because members of minority groups do not participate intensely within the lower strate, proof of the mastery of those roles is not evident, and movement to another position is not anticipated. Lacking those two critical stages means that ultimately the aspiring Chicano or Black is not ready, available, or in the right place to take advantage of a promotional position.

The assertion which is being made at this point is that being absent from a particular position makes it almost certain that access to other positions is jeopardized. But access to better or higher hierarchical positions is not the only problem. Retention of that position for a short time is necessary, but just as important is the preparation for the next anticipated move. Rarely is career movement conceptualized in these terms for school personnel.

During the process certain very important factors are affected. For example, intensive and extensive interpersonal relations are developed which ultimately determin e certain types of placements. Griffiths (1968), in his study of teacher mobility, found that teachers aspiring to administration engage in "Getting the attention of superiors" (GASing) in order to attain an administrative position. This behavior required that teachers volunteer and institute interactional patterns with administrators and other adults from the community in order to better their opportunities for ascendancy. Member of minority groups need to be aware of these dynamics. The process of GASing must be seen as a mechanism for access to administrative positions.

Conversely, administrators "tap" potential administrators from the teaching ranks. The small number of available members of minority groups lessens the likelihood that one member will be viewed as potential, so that statistically members of minority groups are at a disadvantage to be "tapped." Moreover, the tapping process is subtle and members of minority groups may fail to recognize the cues and clues transmitted to them and thereby neglect to respond appropriately. This termination of the process also decreases the likelihood that members of minority groups will be identified and prepared for administrative posts.

To summarize, access to administrative positions is not accidental, but

dependent on subtle, powerful systematic mechanisms which operate on a continuous basis. Lacking the necessary knowledge and skills serves to jeopardize opportunities which may arise. If access is granted, continued upwardly movement is not guaranteed unless those factors which contribute to ascendancy are heeded. These factors are key positional placements and accurate time allotment to each. Members of minority groups have through lack of experience been unaware of the dynamics, therefore handicapped in their competition for the positions. Moreover, marginal membership at any one position within the educational structure, from the initial stages of a career seriously hamper facilitating any career movement. The requisite intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships fail to develop. The critical tasks fail to be performed and socialization into administration fails to occur. Access to administrative positions and attainment of school positions such as the superintendency is indeed a complex process which has succeeded in deluding members of minority groups resulting in general exclusion from those positions.

An examination of socialization mechanisms and their effect upon members of minority groups has been presented. An existing system of career patterns contributes to an exclusion of minority members in the beginning states of the socialization process. For those members who gain access, the demands made upon them by the institution and the varying expectations serve to further erode the potential for the attainment of the prized position.

The socialization process in education administration which consists of formal and informal mechanisms tends also to have an effect on women. The overall picture as well as a description of some of the specific factors that contribute to this effect will be presented in the following report.

Women in Educational Administration

by Edith Bryan McKenzie

Introduction

The causal relationship between the socialization process and the exclusion of women from education leadership positions in the public school setting will be discussed using a tripartite schema. First, the overall picture will be described briefly on the basis on nation-wide data. Second, the socialization process will be considered in terms of some specific factors that contribute to the maintenance of the sexist status quo in educational administration. Third, a sociological model will be suggested to guide future empirical research on organizational careers and their development in the context of public educational organizations.

I. Educational Administration: A Statistical Male Domain

The extent to which sex differentiation characterizes the teaching and administrative domains of American public school systems can be described in terms of nation-wide statistical distributions of males and females (taken from recent surveys conducted by the National Education Association Research Division and by the Chief State School Officers).

National data for 1970-71 reveal that the percentage of women of all elementary teachers was 85%, of all assistant elementary principals, 34%, and of all elementary principals, 19%. On the secondary level, we find not only a lesser proportion of women in teaching but also a noticeable decrease in their representation in the principalship: the percentage of women of all teachers, 46%, and of all principals, 6.5%. As we move up the administrative hierarchy, we find that the percentage of women of all deputy, associate, and assistant superintendents was 7%, and of all school superintendents, 0.6%.

Moreover, the proportion of men elementary teachers increased by 39% between 1960 and 1970 while the proportion of women principals decreased by 16% in that same time period. Numerically speaking, the number of women superintendents decreased from 90 in 1960 to 84 in 1970. In 1973, only two states (Montana and Wisconsin) had a woman state superintendent of public instruction.[1]

Although the selected data indicate that there has been career mobility for a very limited number of women into the administrative domain of public school systems as well as a recent delimitation in that mobility, they do not reveal what factors facilitate or hinder the promotional process for women nor what career ladders and/or lattices have been operant in this process.[2] Thus we need to consider the promotional phenomenon from a very limited sociological perspective that focuses on socialization and career development.

II. Educational Administration: A Socially-Defined Male Domain

Entry into the external employment market of public school teaching is determined by the bureaucratic principle of employee-appointment on the basis of technical competence. In this case, the manifest indicator of this technical expertise is the teaching credential. Moreover, if we continue to analyze the school from the formal organization perspective, we would expect the universalistic norm of technical competence to prevail as teachers seek lifetime tenure and a career within the school's internal labor structure.

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of this sex differentiation in educational organizations, see Dale, 1973; Lyon and Saario, 1973; Millsom, 1973; and Taylor, 1973.

[2] Kapel (1970) has defined career ladders in terms of related positions through which an individual moves to become a tenured teacher, a counselor, or a librarian. When there are two or more such ladders in an organization providing individuals with horizontal as well as vertical movement, these related career ladders are called career lattices.

Statistical data, such as those just presented, seem to indicate that the educational organization as a whole is characterized by a female teaching population lacking the technical competence necessary for promotion into administrative positions. However, the paucity of women administrators is generally not accounted for in terms of the technical competence of female teachers but rather along the dimensions of cultural norms prescribing non-supervisory, non-managerial, and/or non-administrative roles for women, as well as of such particularistic atrributes or characteristics of women as being nurturant and supportive, having lower aspirations than men with respect to career goals, being more interested in giving services to others than in receiving extrinsic rewards, and being more strongly oriented toward occupations based upon typical female attributes and/or that provide the opportunity for a work role that is complementary to the role-set of wife, mother, and homemaker.

These cultural norms and characteristics are the expected outputs of the American socialization process for both males and females, and they tend to maintain the traditional sex-differentiated external and internal labor structure in educational organizations as well as in other social organizations.[1] The public schools, as the predominate socializizing agent in American society, are the target population with regards to the critical role they play in perpetuating sex stereotyping and the social structuring of what is men's work and what is women's work. Indeed, efforts are being made to eliminate sexism in the curriculum, in extra-curricular activities, in testing, and in academic and career counseling.

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[1]See Grimm and Stern (1974) and Hall (1973) for analyses of the relationships between sex roles and the labor market structure.

Certainly the socialization process in the public school setting can be defined as a major causal variable in maintaining the male dominance in educational administration with respect to pre-entry into the teaching occupation. The post-entry phase of the socialization process also needs to be considered. Limited empirical research about the selection of males and females for promotion into the administrative domain indicates that there is a differential socialization pattern operant along with the subordination of the universalistic norm of technical competence to particularistic norms (cf., Barter, 1959; Taylor, 1973; Meskin, 1974). It would seem that a woman is damned if she does and damned if she doesn't exhibit such socially-defined male attributes as aggressiveness, administrative-career aspirations, and leadership capabilities.

Data are needed about such aspects of the promotional process as the following: the match between the career aspirations of women and their actualization in the public school setting; the network of positions (career ladders and/or lattices) characterizing the movement of those women who have been able to enter into the male domain of educational administration; the mechanisms involved in the socializing process for these mobile women (in the post-entry period); the factors that hinder or facilitate women's career mobility within the administrative hierarchy of educational organizations.

Due to the highly competitive and secretive nature of the promotional processes within organizations, there is very limited empirical research reported on organizational careers. However, we can give consideration to a sociological model to guide future research about women's career development in the public school setting.

III. Organizational Careers as a Development Process

Organizations can be said to generate career ladders which are functional

with respect to the attainment of organizational goals as well as to the management succession process as a means of controlling stability or potential change. Insight into the career ladders and the succession or promotional process qua the movement of people through complex organizations is provided by Schein's (1971) conceptual model of an organization as a three-dimensional space, through Hall's (1971) theoretical model of career subidentity development, through the myriad of perspectives on organizational careers included in Glaser's work (1968), and through E. Goffman's (1961) conceptualization of role distance in terms of diffuse or conditioning roles, situated roles, and situated activity systems.

Drawing upon these referent sources, the promotional process can be conceptualized in terms of a career development model wherein there is an ongoing transaction between the society, its organizations, and its members. The following components of such a model need to be considered, I feel, if we are to obtain information about women in educational administration.

(1) Societal members, whether they be male or female, move as individuals into and through an organization with respect to both occupational selection and career choices that affect one's career development:

(a) diffuse or conditioning roles (such as age roles, sex roles, or age-sex roles) exert press upon the occupation selected by an individual, subsequent career choices made by the individual within that occupation, and the individual's situated role performances within an organization as a situated activity system of the chosen occupation (Goffman, 1961: 95-6; 145);

(b) movement within an organization can take place vertically (increasing/decreasing one's rank or level), radially (increasing/decreasing one's centrality), and/or circumferentially (changing one's function or division) (Schein, 1971: 403);

(c) the internal structure of an organization can be characterized by three types of boundaries (which vary in number, degree of permeability, and types of filtering processes): hierarchical, inclusion, and functional or divisional boundaries (Schein, 1971: 404-405);

(d) the individual as an organizational member can be defined as a constructed social self which is organized around a basic image or concept of self (Schein, 1971: 409-411);

(e) career development can be defined as encompassing a spiraling combination of career choices (any behavior which will affect the person's career outcomes), career subidentity growth (the creation of new aspect of the self in the career area), and career commitment (the strength of a person's motivation to work in a chosen career role) (Hall, 1971: 58-61).

(2) There is inter- and intra-individual variability (both spatially and temporally) in people's conceptualization of self and others (a) as responsible individual personalities or (b) on the basis of particularistic characteristics such as ascribed group-membership attributes.

(3) A career can be defined as consisting (a) of a series of stages or positions that a person moves through from the time he/she enters an organization until he/she leaves it, (b) of a particular sequence of experiences and personal changes which a person goes through during the entire course of his/her life's work, and (c) of a set of expectations held by individuals within an organization which guide their decisions about whom to move, when, how, and at what speed.

(4) Organizations and individuals continuously adapt to each other and incluence each other with respect to the simultaneous efforts of individuals to develop careers and of organizations to develop its members; there will be

variability in the extent of the resultant individual-organization integration or of the resultant convergence between an individual's career goals and an organization's development plans.

(a) the development and succession of the few top managers is likely to differ from the fitting of people-pegs to position-holes at lower management levels (Glickman, et alia, 1968: 9-33);[1]

(b) the variety of possible career management strategies include the following: improving one's qualifications, choosing jobs that are stepping-stones, doing job well, improving interpersonal relations (Sofer, 1970: 245); getting the right sponsor (Glaser, 1968; Martin and Strauss, 1956; Jennings, 1971); being in the right place at the right time; assuming a promotable management posture (such as dynamic-investor or dynamic-spender) (Fiore and Strauss, 1972: 62-63); maintaining the widest set of options possible, observing the penalty of loss of career time, becoming a crucial subordinate to a mobile superior, always favoring increased exposure and visibility, being prepared to practice self-nomination, egressing from an organization at one's own convenience rather than at other's, defining the organization as a market, and never allowing success to preempt one's own future (Jennings, 1971: 308-317).

This then is a sociological model of career development suggested by a strand of literature that focuses on the transactional process by which individuals move into and through organizations. In order that we can find out how

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[1]Glickman et alia (1968: 34-35) further explicate this phenomenon in terms of two systems: a general management development program and a specific executive development system. The point at which an individual becomes visible to top management in a favorable light--they contend--is the "take-off" point in the career path to top management wherein top management takes over in the testing and grooming of candidates.

the management-succession or promotional process functions in educational organizations with respect to generated career ladders and lattices and the concomitant selection/solialization mechanisms, empirical research needs to be undertaken that will pull out the interactional development processes.

Data Source in Part I: Estimates of School Statistics, 1971-1972; Professional Women in Public Schools, 1970-1971. (National Education Association Research Division)

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The final presentation has provided a sociological model for understanding the causal relationship between socialization and the exclusion of women from educational leadership positions in the public school setting. This model focuses on the transactional process between women as individuals influencing the organization as they develop their careers and the school as an educational organization influencing (socializing) women qua teachers vis a vis the various ladders and lattices which provide career mobility opportunities.

It appears from the reports just presented that much information needs to be collected regarding career patterns within school administration. The processes have contributed to the exclusion of women and members of minority groups from the superintendency position. Other consequences may be reflected in the inflexibility of school districts to adapt to social conditions which emerge.

Conclusions

Three articles have been presented which describe the process which results in the attainment of the school superintendency position. Focus was given to the socialization process and its mechanisms for the selection of future school administrators. Certain implications may be drawn. First, the attainment of the superintendency position is dependent on a specific career pattern. Second, the process which results in the attainment of the school superintendency is complex and highly selective. Third, advancement is dependent on preliminary positions held as well as the length of time held in each position. Fourth, failure to observe the process by which certain positions are attained results in the exclusion of certain groups such as members of minority groups and women. Fifth, career patterns may be systematically established by the excluded groups which are different from others. In summary, the career line to the key posi-

tions in the central office is a complex and intricate endeavor. The successful perform to the expectations of many formal and informal socialization mechanisms.